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Sir William Mitchell Ramsay: Asia Minor and the Birth of International Epigraphy

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AUTUMN 2019

From hand to hand
Are coins documents?
Hellenistic inscriptions from Cyprus

Are coins documents?

Andrew Meadows



A small silver cippus, approximately 1.8mm high, 0.5mm wide and 1mm deep survives in hundreds of copies from almost as many findspots from across the western Roman empire (Fig. 1). It bears the following inscription:

S(enatus) P(opulus)q(ue) R(omanus)

Imp(eratori) Cae(sari)

Quod v(iae)

m(unitae) s(unt) ex

ea p(ecunia) q(uam) is

ad a(erarium) de(tulit).

5-6. ea p(ecunia) q(uae) i(ussu) S(enatus) | ad a(erarium) d(elata) e(st). Giard.

Figure 1. Silver denarius of Augustus, mint of Rome, 16 BC (<http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.38334>). Photo courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

Here, indisputably, we see a document on a coin. A monument set up by the Senate and People of Rome to honour Augustus. To ram home this point, the other side of the coin bears an image of an equestrian statue of Augustus on a base on which we find another dedicatory inscription: SPQR IMP CAE. This, of course, is all very well. But is plainly not the answer to our question, for this is a pair of documents depicted on a coin. We find buildings, gods, weapons and furniture also depicted on coins, but we would not thus try to pass off coins as any of those things. So the question stands: are coins documents?

To answer it, we might turn to the Oxford English Dictionary and try to decide if coins meet the definition of a document. For once,

the OED is less helpful than we might hope:

Document. 4a. Something written, inscribed, etc., which furnishes evidence or information upon any subject, as a manuscript, title-deed, tomb-stone, coin, picture, etc.

This feels like an open-and-shut case. The OED says coins are documents. But what is it about coins that would make them documents? A quotation provided by the OED under this heading perhaps helps a little more. F. Wharton in his *A Commentary on the Law of Evidence in Civil Issues* (Philadelphia, PA, 1877–8) defines a document as ‘an instrument on which is recorded, by means of letters, figures, or marks, matter which may be evidentially used.’ So, were we lawyers, we might be satisfied that coins are indeed documents, since they bear letters, figures or marks. As historians, however, we would probably want to be a little clear about the second part of this definition and ask, ‘How can they be used evidentially?’

If we return to our Augustan denarius, we may note that it bears more letters than just those of the monuments it depicts. On the

reverse it bears the letters, around the edge, L VINICIVS L F IIIVIR. At one level this is simply information about the coin itself. It tells us who was administratively responsible for the production of these issues of coins. This may feel like a rather self-reflexive sort of documentation, but is not simply a closed loop of information about a man and his coin. It tells us also who held the office of *tresvir monetalis* in 16 BC, and that feeds into world of evidence for the prosopography of Rome that we would readily associate with, for example, epigraphic documents.

The opportunities become, perhaps, a little more obvious if we move beyond the richly (epigraphically) documented city of Rome to the other end of the empire in the late 1st century. From, most probably, Antioch



Figure 2 Silver tetradrachm of Antony and Cleopatra, mint of Antioch (?), c. 36 BC. RPC I. 4094. (<http://numismatics.org/collection/1967.152.567>). Photo courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

in Syria, we have coins bearing the portraits of Antony and Cleopatra (Fig. 2). There are inscriptions to accompany each portrait: ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ (Antony Imperator for the third time, Triumvir) and ΒΑΣΙΛΙCΚΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ ΘΕΑ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ (Queen Cleopatra Goddess Neotera). With former we are back in the world of Roman prosopography and titulature. Indeed the legend closely echoes the Latin of Anthony's *denarii*. But with the latter we are on very different territory. Here we have a document like no other from Antony's imperium in the East, in which he is formally associated with the Egyptian queen. Both appear in the nominative. It is impossible to tell from this single coin which of the two individuals takes precedence. Anthony has his strictly Roman titles. Cleopatra has her royal title; but she has more. She is a goddess, alongside the Roman emperor, but she is, it seems, the second (*neotera*) goddess Cleopatra. She appears to be laying claim to the land of the first Cleopatra Thea, queen of Syria. There is, of course, a wealth that could be said about these claims, and the collocation of these two individuals on a single object in this way: certainly many more words than just the nine that appear on the coin.

In both of these cases, at Rome and Antioch, we at least have a high-political historical framework within which to situate these documents. In the coins of many Greek cities, we find evidence for aspects of their history that are otherwise unknown to us, such as monetary magistrates of Athens (Fig. 3), the calendar of Mylasa in Caria (Fig. 4) or the epiphany of Zeus that occurred at Clazomenae in Ionia (Fig. 5).

This is primary evidence from a places and times that have, in many cases, left us little else; and these coins, like many others, are documents.

The major difference between coins as documents and the many other documents that survive from the ancient world on stone, wood and papyrus, is that coins were mass-produced. Most other ancient

documents are unique, and thus studied as individual texts and objects first. When we compile corpora of inscriptions, we collect individual texts along geographic lines, or according to classes of document, or perhaps according to the objects on which they are inscribed or written. When we create corpora of coins, the process is slightly different. We need first to define the numismatic phenomenon (a coin 'type' or 'issue'), and then we need to collect the known specimens of each phenomenon. For the Roman world the task of defining the phenomena is well advanced. The major reference works in print – Roman Republican Coinage, Roman Imperial Coinage and Roman Provincial Coinage all now exists or are being written. Much of this has now begun to appear in digital format too. Linked Open Data resources such as Coinage of the Roman Republic Online (CRRO), Online Coins of the Roman Empire (OCRE), and Roman Provincial Coinage Online (RPCOnline) now make access to the typology of Roman coinages easy for all. They also provide frameworks to which known individual specimens can then be linked. 14 specimens of our denarius of Augustus (Fig. 1) can now be found in OCRE (compared to just 4 referred to in the printed volume of RIC).

The major challenge that faces us now as we explore the utility of coins as documents lies in the Greek world. Greek coinage has never had a single reference work that defines all types of the coinage produced before the coming of Rome. CSAD, with partners at the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the University of Valencia is now leading the way in changing the face of Greek coinage online. The ARCH project (<https://www.greekcoinage.org/arch-project>) funded by the AHRC (UK), the ANR (France) and MINECO (Spain) will, over the course of the next two years, create the first overview of the types of all Greek coinage and place them online as a Linked Open Data Resource. Before long, we hope, coins will take their place alongside inscriptions, papyri, tablets and all else to be 'evidentially used' as documents for the study of the whole Greek world.



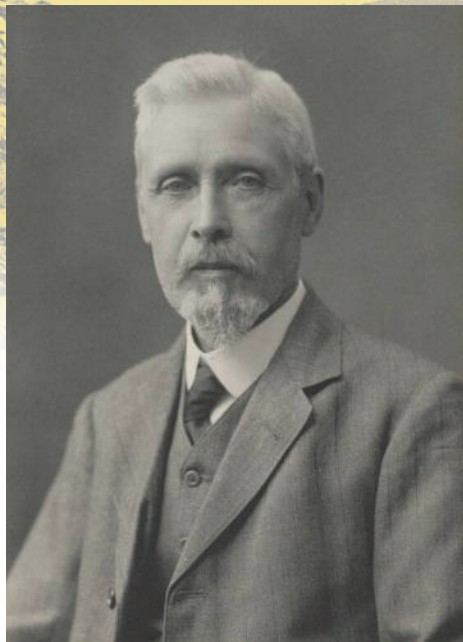
Figure 3. Silver tetradrachm of Athens, c. 123/2 BC. (<http://numismatics.org/collection/1957.12.18>). Photo courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



Figure 4. Silver tetradrachm of Mylasa, mid 2nd cent. BC. (<http://numismatics.org/collection/2010.26.1>). Photo courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



Figure 5. Silver tetradrachm of Clazomenae, c. 170-160 BC. (<http://numismatics.org/collection/2008.30.1>). Photo courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



Sir William Mitchell Ramsay (ca. 1910).

Alexander Weiß

The life and research of Sir William Mitchell Ramsay (1851–1939), known for his pioneering work in Asia Minor, is closely connected to the University of Oxford. Ramsay was a student at St John's College, his early travels in Asia Minor were supported first by a traveling scholarship, and later by a fellowship at Exeter College. In 1885, he became the first holder of the Lincoln and Merton Chair in Classical Archaeology before moving on to become the Regius Professor of Humanity at the University of Aberdeen in 1886, then one of the UK's most prominent chairs in the field of Classics outside Oxbridge.

Ramsay's travels, which he continued until the 1930s, led to the discovery of several famous inscriptions, e.g. the Aberkios inscription from around 200 AD, described by G.B. de Rossi, then head of the Vatican Library and the 'founding-father' of Christian epigraphy, as the "Queen of Christian inscriptions". At Pisidian Antioch, Ramsay found an important copy of the *Res gestae divi Augusti*, until then only known from the famous copy at Ankara. From the 1890s onwards, Ramsay turned his research interest towards early Christianity in Asia Minor. Some of his books became enormously popular: "*St Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*", first published in 1895, received its 18th edition in 1935. Thereby, Ramsay became one of the first scholars to combine Classics, Epigraphy, and the history of the early Church, making him an eminent figure in the history of the disciplines.

But Ramsay was not only an important figure for Classics in Oxford, but had far-reaching connections to British, European, and American scholars, politicians, and publicists. It is especially this facet of Ramsay's life that has so far been largely neglected by modern scholarship. Ramsay was involved in the beginnings of the *Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies* and in the early exploration of both Hadrian's and the Antonine wall. Theodor Mommsen, the doyen of 19th-century German *Altertumswissenschaft*, called Ramsay "my friend", and Ramsay became one of the most important collaborators of Mommsen's *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* project at the Berlin academy. Ramsay was perhaps the most important bridge-builder between British Classics and German *Altertumswissenschaft* in his generation. On his travels to Asia Minor he frequently made stop-overs in Berlin and entertained close relations to Mommsen and other leading figures of the Berlin academic scene, for example Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and the church historian Adolf von Harnack.

A largely unknown aspect of Ramsay's later life is his work as correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* (today *The Guardian*). Between 1910 and 1925, Ramsay published a number of articles on the inner situation of the Ottoman empire in this paper. In turn, C.P. Scott, then owner and chief editor of the *Guardian*, was instrumental in gaining Ramsay's visa to continue his work at Pisidian Antioch after WWI. Because of his intimate knowledge of the region, Ramsay also became one of the sources of the *Blue Book*, a collection of eyewitness reports on the Armenian genocide presented to the British parliament by Ramsay's close friend, the liberal politician Lord Bryce, and Arnold J. Toynbee. Another friend of Ramsay's, the Classicist and diplomat W.H. Buckler, sought information on Asia Minor from Ramsay during the Paris Peace conference in 1919.

It is therefore an important task to reconstruct Ramsay's biography and his far-reaching networks on the basis of his correspondence. Unfortunately, Ramsay didn't keep any letters he received, apart

from a "half dozen of great letters which I preserve as great letters", as he wrote to Scott in 1925. Hence, we depend on the archives of Ramsay's correspondents, who include:

- **Lord James Bryce**, Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford (1870–1893), member of Parliament (1880–1907), ambassador to the United States (1907–1913), and member of the House of Lords. Bryce was introduced to the academic world of Berlin by Ramsay, who sent letters of recommendation to Mommsen and Harnack; Bryce then played a part in Mommsen's last political memorandum, which concerned the German-British relations during the Boer War.

- **William Sanday**, Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis of Holy Scripture, Oxford (1883–95), Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Oxford (1895–1919)

- **Archibald Sayce**, Tutor at Queen's College, Oxford (1870–90), Deputy Professor of Philology (1876–1890), first Professor of Assyriology at Oxford (1891–1919). This correspondence is especially important for early research on the Phrygian language.

- **Alexander Souter**, until 1890 Ramsay's assistant at Aberdeen, Professor of New Testament Greek and Exegesis, Mansfield College Oxford (1891–1910), successor of Ramsay at Aberdeen in 1911.

These exchanges, together with other letters written by Ramsay and now preserved in various archives in the UK, Europe and the US, are crucial for reconstructing Ramsay's biography, and exploring his important role for the creation of modern international epigraphic research.



The Ramsays outside their tent, 1907 (Gertrude Bell Archive photo, courtesy of the Gertrude Bell Foundation).

Mitchell Ramsay

of international epigraphy

Emanuel Zingg

As many readers will know, the CSAD houses most of Sir William Mitchell Ramsay's notebooks, the primary material record of the pioneering geographical, archaeological, and epigraphical explorations he conducted in central Asia Minor. Recently, the study of this rich

collection has yielded some new insights.

The series comprises fifty-nine notebooks and several dozens of loose leaves written between 1880 and 1928. Ramsay's notes deal mostly with findings and observations made on his expeditions to the remote highlands of Pisidia, Phrygia, and Lycaonia.

The epigraphical material is mostly in Greek, sometimes in Latin, rarely in Phrygian or in Luwian hieroglyphs, and totals several thousand inscriptions.

No one has ever recorded as many inscriptions in central Anatolia as Ramsay.

Over the past two years, our project *"The Unpublished Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Sir W. M. Ramsay's Notebooks"* has confirmed the assumption expressed by Peter Thonemann in the CSAD Newsletter No. 20: the notebooks still contain many unpublished inscriptions. Until now, we have found some 230 unpublished inscriptions. With all notebooks scanned, we can now tackle the systematic screening of the entire series. Inscriptions unknown so far will be transcribed, translated, and supplemented with a commentary. By supplying scans of Ramsay's sketches, we can help the reader to understand our interpretation of the data. Ramsay recorded the inscriptions

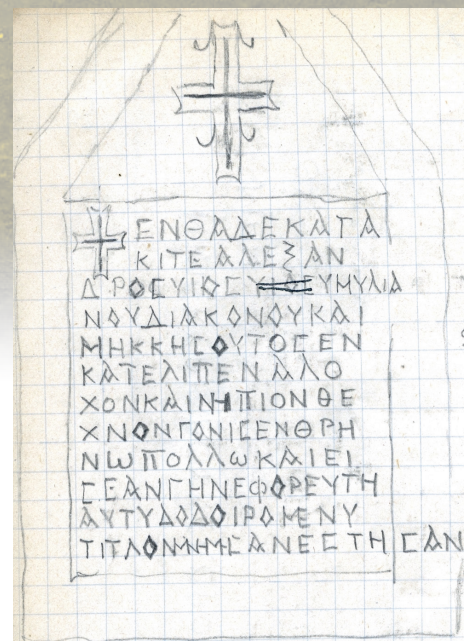
according to year and find spot; he did not try to systematize his findings. We will, however, rearrange them according to geographical criteria in hierarchical order: Roman province, ancient city, find spot. The inscriptions that have already been published elsewhere will be listed in a concordance. In this way, we hope to serve colleagues working on central Anatolian inscriptions, which are often edited in scattered articles written by Ramsay himself or his fellow travellers. Our hope is that in the future a researcher who wants to know what Ramsay really saw on the stone will know where to look in the mass of Ramsay's notes — be it in the original notebooks at the CSAD or perhaps one day in an online collection of the scans. The find spots of the new inscriptions will be inserted in maps and will contribute to our understanding of the geography of ancient Anatolia and of Ottoman Turkey in Ramsay's times. Our ultimate goal is to publish the results of our research in a book.

Ramsay travelled in regions that only became Hellenised under Roman rule. Their epigraphic habit seems to have remained comparatively modest, and most of the texts Ramsay recorded are simple funerary inscriptions. However, they contain a rich treasure of pre-Greek and pre-Roman epichoric names that would almost entirely be lost were it not for the epigraphical documentation.

Ramsay was especially interested in the spread of Christianity in the Anatolian highlands and he drew on the inscriptions he recorded in his books. Yet, there are still many unpublished ones to be found in his notebooks like this grave stone from Konya, the ancient Iconium:

"[sign of the cross] Here lies Alexandros, the son of Aimilianos, the deacon, and of Mikke. He left a wife behind and a little child, his parents in great grief and a fair share of land to watch over. In mourning they set up this inscription of remembrance."

Sometimes, the local population tried to compose verses, as in this example from Sarayönü, near ancient Laodicea Catacecaumene:



Ramsay's 1904 notebook drawing of a late antique epigram from Sarayönü.

"The friend of the mortals, the one with the beautiful shape, has been buried here, Zoe by name, she whom everyone honoured. This grave erected her spouse as well as her sister, Varelianus together with the pious virgin Theosebie, for her as a memorial for the human race because this is the honour due to the dead."

We have a considerable number of late antique epigrams on stone from central Anatolia. Their authors are thought to have been half-literate elementary school teachers who concocted their poems in doubtful hexameters out of snatches of Homeric verse and their own ingredients. It is typical to find the same fragments of verse repeated in different inscriptions as in the case of "the friend of the mortals, the one with the beautiful shape". At Zengen, some 22 kilometres northeast of Sarayönü, the same words are attested with different orthographical errors and not relating to a woman, but to a certain Alexandros. The two inscriptions must either have been written by the same poet or else they represent a shared local tradition of poetic language. Varelianus is perhaps not a writing error, but a local variant of the Roman name Valerianus, as it is also attested in an inscription from Dedeler 28 kilometres east of Sarayönü. At the end of the poem we encounter the formula τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων, also used in other grave epigrams from the region where Ramsay travelled. They all copied it from the account of another Anatolian's burial — that of the Lycian king Sarpedon — in the Iliad, 16, 456f: "[...] and there shall his brethren and his kinsfolk give him burial with mound and pillar; for this is the due of the dead".

t at Deghile, Turkey, June
photograph H 233). Photo
Archive, Newcastle University.

Documenting Hellenistic Cyprus

Kyriakos Savvopoulos



Figure 2. Hellenistic male statue combining 'Ptolemaic' and Cypriot features. From the sanctuary of Voni. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

A common 'complaint' among readers of Alexandrian epigraphy is that the total number of inscriptions surviving from the Hellenistic (Ptolemaic) period is anything but representative: around 80 inscriptions representing a historical period of three centuries, from a city that according to ancient sources

could have been of about 500.000 citizens, if not more. However, this is not the case for Hellenistic Cyprus, which was part of the Ptolemaic Empire between 294 and 55 BC). Almost 100 major epigraphic texts have been discovered

at the site of the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Palaipaphos alone. The Ptolemaic presence is also brilliantly represented in other locations on the island such as Soloi, Salamis, Ledra, Chytroi, Idalion, Kition, Kourion, and Amathous (Fig. 1). The total number of epigraphic texts representing the Hellenistic period on Cyprus now approaches 350; and this number is continuously increasing as new evidence comes to light.

Ptolemaic involvement on Cyprus is further evident in several types of material evidence in addition to epigraphy, including coinage, statuary, fine pottery, and not least in the topography of the island itself. In order to understand this phenomenon, we need to look at the role played by Cyprus in the Ptolemaic world, starting from the spring of the Hellenistic period, just after the death of Alexander the Great, when Cyprus became the 'apple of discord' among several Hellenistic rulers. Ptolemy, the Satrap (and later King) of Egypt, had made the occupation of Cyprus a priority. This was not an easy task, however, since Ptolemy faced a major competitor, Demetrios Poliorketes, son of Antigonos Monophthalmos, the general of Alexander the Great. It was only after the death of Antigonos at the battle of Ipsus (301 BC)

and the retreat of Demetrios that Cyprus finally fell into the hands of Ptolemy, by 294 BC. Thereafter Cyprus remained a Ptolemaic island until the very end of Ptolemaic kingship, marked by the death of Cleopatra VII Philopator in 30 BC.

Looking to the map of the eastern Mediterranean, one can readily appreciate the key location of Cyprus: control of the island offers a dominant position of



Figure 1. Map of Hellenistic Cyprus, showing major cities and geographical features.

Figure 3. Dedication to Ptolemy Philometor, Kleopatra and the gods of the gymnasium by a representative of the city of Chytroi. From Kythraea. 180–145 BC. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum insc. Gr. 182.



influence in the eastern Mediterranean and its surrounding coastlines. The addition of Cyprus to the Ptolemaic Kingdom was meant to be the first decisive step towards the formation of a true empire in the region, having as its centre the capital of Alexandria.

In Cyprus, a new era began after the establishment of Ptolemaic rule, as the political unification of the island replaced the system of the Cypriot city-kingsdoms with a network of Hellenistic poleis. In such contexts, new hierarchies are formed: Local elites adapted to the Ptolemaic reality, finding new roles, while at the same time representatives of the Alexandrian royal

state machinery are present all over the island. The features of a Hellenistic/Ptolemaic lifestyle (i.e. gymnasia, theatres and public space) are evident, yet local (mainly religious) traditions would remain vivid, contributing to the formation of a distinctive Cypro-Hellenistic character (Figs. 2–4). Meanwhile, representatives of



showing places with Ptolemaic evidence.

the Hellenistic 'oikoumene' appear on the Island of Aphrodite, including Macedonians, Alexandrians, Thessalians, Byzantines (city), Epirotes, Cretans, Egyptians, and Phoenicians (Fig. 5).

As far as written evidence is concerned, the Ptolemaic period is marked by the exclusive use of the common Greek Alphabetical writing system, which replaced the Cypriot Syllabary. The decision for this change already seems to have been taken before the arrival of the Ptolemies (Fig. 6).

Hellenistic epigraphic evidence is concentrated in the collections of all the major museums of Cyprus, including



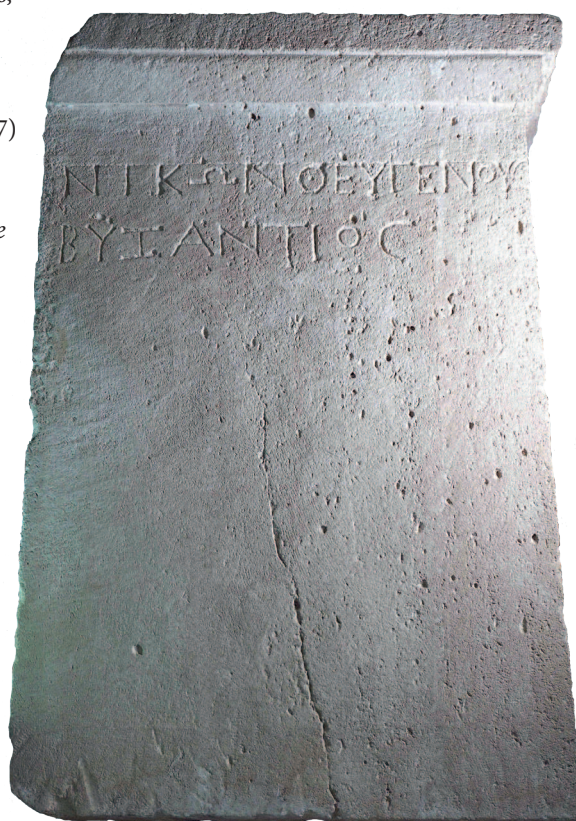
Figure 4. Base of a statue-group, referring to Demetrios son of Machates, Thessalian, who was 'in charge of the city'. From Kourion. 200–193 BC. Episkope Museum I 158.

those of Nicosia, Nea (Kato) Paphos, Palaipaphos, Episkope (Kourion), Larnaka and Limassol. A considerable part of this material has been studied and published during the 20th century by T.B. Mitford (1905–1978), a Scottish archaeologist and classicist (University of St. Andrews), and subsequently by his student, the late Ino Nicolaou-Michaelidou (1929–2018), perhaps the most distinguished of all Cypriot epigraphists, who died last year. In recent years, further evidence has also been published from excavations undertaken by non-Cypriot missions, such as the French mission in Amathous and the Polish Mission in Nea Paphos. Publications appeared throughout the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries, mainly in periodicals, while some collective works have also appeared focused on specific regions, including Kition (Yon, 1999), Salamis (Pouilloux et al. 1987) and Paphos (Cayla 2003, 2018). In addition, there is the fundamental study of Nicolaou-Michaelidou, *The Ptolemaic Prosopography of Cyprus* (1976), and the continuing work of a team at the Berlin Academy on *Inscriptiones Graecae* volume XV for Cyprus as a whole.

Nevertheless, there is still an obvious gap: there is no complete and up-to-date catalogue and study for the island's Hellenistic/Ptolemaic epigraphy. Moreover, there has been no attempt to approach Cypriot epigraphic material within the wider Ptolemaic documentary context — where it actually belongs — and consequently, in the context of the history of the Ptolemaic

Empire. These are the aims of a new CSAD project funded by the University's John Fell Fund: to prepare the ground for the compilation of the first complete corpus of Cypriot Ptolemaic inscriptions, following on from the Corpus of inscriptions from Ptolemaic Egypt which is now nearing completion (2013–2020). Such a task for Cyprus is anything but simple, considering that: 1) several inventory numbers of inscriptions have changed since their first publication, 2) some inscriptions may have moved from one museum to

Figure 5. Funerary stele of Nikon son of Theogenes, from Byzantion. From Soloi. Early 3rd century BC. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum insc. Gr. 154.



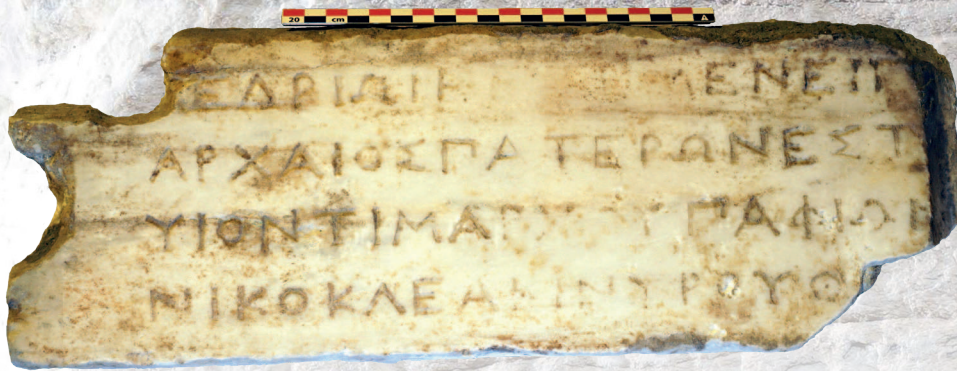


Figure 6. Honorific inscription for Nikokles, last king of Paphos, one of the first alphabetic inscriptions of Cyprus. 320–310 BC. From Ledra. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum *insc. Gr. 205*.

another, while 3) others have had to be rediscovered in museum stores or in private collections and 4) new evidence is continuously coming to light.

The plan for the compilation of a new documentary record of the Ptolemaic epigraphy of Cyprus was instantly and enthusiastically adopted by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, more specifically by the director of the Museum Sector, Dr. Despo Pilides. Its value was immediately evident in multiple ways, both for the Antiquities Department and for the wider Hellenistic academic community. We have received the unconditional support of the Department and of its staff at all sites and museums, making this process a rather fascinating adventure into the Cypriot past.

The documentation of the inscriptions involves cataloguing, producing digital photographs (still and selective RTI imaging), and making duplicate sets of squeezes, one for the Department of

Antiquities and the other for Oxford. So far, work has been completed in the museums of Nicosia, Larnaka, Limassol and Episkope (Fig. 7). The project's principal researcher, Kyriakos Savvopoulos, is now working on the collections of the museums of Paphos. Meanwhile a temporary catalogue of unpublished inscriptions is in preparation. The publication of this material will take place at the completion of the documentation project, in collaboration with the staff of the Department of Antiquities.

Figure 7. Squeeze making process at the epigraphic storage of the Palaipaphos Museum (Kouklia).

Some surprises are in prospect—among them, evidence dating to the first decades of the Hellenistic period which is expected to add ‘new pages’ to the history and archaeology of Cyprus (Fig. 8).

Last but not least we should mention the extension of the collaboration between CSAD and the Department of Antiquities, in the process of the creation of the all-new Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. CSAD staff are contributing to the selection of display material for the Hellenistic Section of the new museum, including some epigraphic, numismatic and sculptural treasures.

We would like to thank the Department of Antiquities for their openness and trust. We will do our best to be worthy of their hospitality and friendship and hope that this fascinating journey will last for much longer.



Figure 8. Funerary stele of Alexon, son of Laiarchos, from Thessaly. From Marion-Arsinoe. Late 4th or early 3rd century BC. Museum of the City of Chrysochous.

Changing names

Tradition and innovation in Greek Onomastics

Robert Parker

In every society, names are everywhere, in constant use. But, except in the anxious counsels of parents-to-be, they are taken for granted, little commented on. Yet the choices made by parents tell us about their worldview and values, as is delightfully shown in the comic evocation of such a parental debate in Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 60–68. The profound but uncommented-on cultural meaning of these ubiquitous signifiers provides the challenge to the historian that, since 1972, the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* has been trying to rise to. A conference held in Oxford in 2016 has now issued in a book, the fourth in a series, on a hitherto neglected theme: *Changing Names. Tradition and Innovation in Greek Onomastics*.

Name-change is a genus with many species. In antiquity, name-change of an individual was most likely to afflict a slave and be imposed by a new master; slave-sale documents sometimes speak

brutally of ‘the slave named X or whatever other name he is called by or will be called by’. There are also jokes about people changing up to grander-sounding (usually longer) names: Dionysiopeganodoros is a satyrist’s invention, but the emperor Diocletian started life as Diokles. More interesting to historians are the changes in naming affecting a population over time. They can attest immigration (sometimes as a result of conquest), the spread of cults, greater openness to a wider world; those due to preference and fashion are hardest to account for (easy cases such as Alexandros or Ptolemy aside!), but readily observed if one looks at two lists of names from the same city a century or so apart.

Cultural contact is a main source of name change, leading sometimes to adoption of names from a foreign name stock (e.g. Lycians adopting Greek names, Greeks adopting Roman), sometimes to double names (e.g. one Egyptian, one Greek), sometimes to assonance names (adoption of a Greek name that sounds like a Thracian), sometimes to hybrids (non-Greek names with Greek endings). The flexible formula *ὁ καί*, ‘also known as’, plays many roles in such transcultural contexts but also in introducing nicknames (the relation of *ὁ καί* double names to unlinked double names such as Diodoros Paspáros is an open question). The most enduring source of name change was the spread of Christianity, but its influence was slow to make itself felt, and so the attempt to track the spread of Christianity by tracking the spread of distinctively ‘Christian’ names is controversial. John



Chrysostom’s plea to his flock to renounce pagan names is a rare exception to the general silence about questions of naming, but does not seem to have been particularly effective. Another exception to the general silence is Apollonius of Tyana’s tirade against Greeks who prefer to be called Lucretius or Lupercus rather than Menodotos or Apollonios. Here again, the rare literary allusion is somewhat misleading: Roman names never prevailed in Greece, and in the end the Greek single name won out over the Roman *tria nomina* almost throughout the empire. The painstaking accumulation of actual evidence on which the *Lexicon* has been engaged over these long years provides the only basis on which reliable generalisations can be based.

You may wonder what the accompanying illustrations have to do with names. They are the two sides of a funerary stele from Odessus in Thrace. On one side the dead man is shown as a riding hero, in a familiar Thracian schema. On the other he reclines on a couch with a woman seated at his feet: a ‘banqueting hero’ schema that is as quintessentially Greek as the other is Thracian. This has been called ‘iconographic bilingualism’. The dead man’s name is Διονύσιος Ἀντιφίλου ὁ καί Σκωρτίς: a Greek name and a Thracian, linked by *ὁ καί*. The two corresponding bilingualisms, one iconographic, one onomastic, strikingly illustrate his family’s sense of his identity, poised between two worlds. I had hoped that the two images would appear on front and back of the published volume. Dis aliter visum... but I am delighted to re-unite them here.





Tab.Lond.Bloomberg 6: A letter addressed "In London, to Mogontius" (AD 65–80).

Photo courtesy of MOLA (Museum of London Archaeology).

Relaunch of the expanded Roman Inscriptions of Britain Online

Scott Vanderbilt (RIB Online and LatinNow), Alex Mullen (LatinNow)

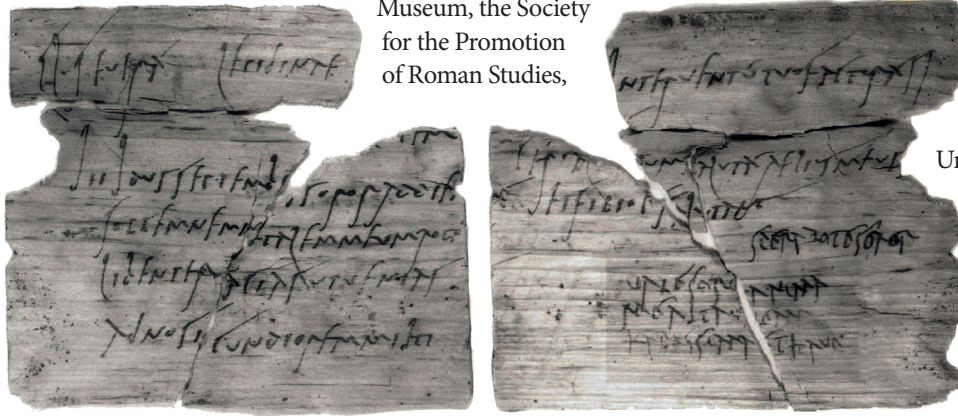
RIB Online, the digital library of Roman inscriptions from Britain, has been relaunched on the anniversary of Claudia Severa's birthday, with enhanced existing records and a large number of new texts. 1,508 new texts have been added, drawn from RIB Volume III and the corpus of Bloomberg tablets, *Roman London's First Voices* (each digitally published for the first time), as well as new and enhanced digitisations of the Vindolanda Tablets, some of which are also making their digital debuts. All the new material includes images where available and relevant non-textual information from the corpora.

The entire corpus of RIB Online now comprises 3,909 inscriptions in all, representing a substantial milestone in the aim to make every published text from the province of Britannia digitally available. Future instalments will include all eight fascicules of RIB Volume II (*Instrumentum Domesticum*), the curse tablets, writing tablets from Carlisle, and all texts published in the annual updates of the journal *Britannia* to date.

By using EpiDoc encoding (XML mark-up designed for epigraphy) and Linked Open

Data this resource enables detailed searching and linking to other epigraphic and non-epigraphic resources: users can check which inscriptions are in their local museums, search for Latin words, or assemble references to specific military occupations, for example. All of this is made possible by the generous support of the European Research Council (project LatinNow, grant number 715626) and archaeologists and institutions across the country, especially MOLA, the Vindolanda Trust, the British

Museum, the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies,



Tab. Vindol. 291: Birthday invitation of Claudia Severa (AD 97–105).

Photo courtesy of The Vindolanda Trust.

the Haverfield Bequest and the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford, where the digital library is now being hosted.

RIB Online is part of the ERC research project LatinNow (<https://latinnow.eu/>), based at the University of Nottingham.

RIB Online is freely accessible at <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/>.

New exhibition: VOCES POPVLI. Life and Languages in the Roman West

Alex Mullen (Latin Now)

VOCES POPVLI presents highlights of LatinNow's research into life and languages in the Roman West. What happens when the populations of the western provinces encounter Roman rule, Latin and literacy? What are the effects on local languages,

identities and cultures? Our multilingual pop-up exhibition presents the story of the western provinces through a fascinating series of over 50 objects from the Roman West. Come and discuss local histories under Rome with our international team of experts, listen to talks, and try your hand at writing like a Roman, decoding military messages and creating your own curse tablet.

We start on Monday, the 16th September, in Navarra, Spain, at 8.30 am with a public

talk by prize-winning researcher Dr M. J. Estáran. Then we're off to the Zaragoza museum, Barcelona University and Tarragona museum before we head to France for schools sessions in Millau, and visits to the Roman museums at Nîmes and St-Romain-en-Gal, Vienne. Next, we wend our way to Switzerland to the Roman fort at Vindonissa,

museums in Trier, Germany, and Knokke-Heist in the Netherlands, before travelling to Belgium to teach 200 students in Bruges and ending with 3 packed days at the Heerlen Thermenmuseum (10–12th October). The full details of our events can be found here: <https://latinnow.eu/touring-exhibition>. All our events are free and open to all — join us to explore aspects of the Roman world you never knew existed!

Funded by the European Research Council under grant number 715626.



Practical Epigraphy Workshop 2019 (Education Centre, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 25- 27 June)

Peter Haarer (Trinity College)

This June the CSAD welcomed eighteen participants from across the globe to the tenth iteration of the Practical Epigraphy Workshop. Ten nationalities were represented among our participants including China, Finland, Greece, Israel, Italy, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, the UK and the USA.

The aim of the Workshop is to move beyond the theoretical study of epigraphy and to give participants tangible experience in handling and studying real ancient material.

Those completing the course may then use this training in the field or in museums, or more basically to understand the relationship between an inscribed object and the appearance of its text in a publication. For this reason, the focus of the three days is on equipping participants

with techniques for making drawings, photographs, and squeezes of inscriptions. They then practice these techniques on an actual inscribed object about which they are required to prepare a draft first edition for presentation on the final day. Additional sessions provide further perspectives, as well as brief respites from the intensity of the programme, and on this occasion we were pleased to welcome Wayne Hart, a professional lettercutter. His talk and demonstration of cutting strokes encouraged us to consider the often overlooked role of the inscriber in shaping the finished text. As our stones for study from the Ashmolean were formal inscriptions, it was refreshing to have a session given by Roger Tomlin about informal inscriptions on Samian ware.

Participants on the Workshop choose to study texts in either Greek or Latin and

it is an especial strength of the reserve collection of the Ashmolean Museum that it offers a good selection of material inscribed in each language.

We had many appreciative comments from our participants regarding the impact of the Workshop. Space permits us to select just one of these, from Mor Hajbi who is a student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem:

"The Workshop gave me the opportunity to meet young scholars from around the world and from different fields, and to work with highly respected researchers and epigraphers who I was otherwise unlikely to encounter. However, it was the practical character of the



The participants of the Practical Epigraphy Workshop (photo courtesy of Anja Ulbrich).

workshop that I, as a young researcher, found most valuable. To my great delight, I was given the opportunity at the Workshop to examine an actual ancient artefact: the burial monument of Lucius Pompeius Marcellinus (catalogue number: AshLI 168), a beautifully preserved marble monument dedicated to the memory of L. P. Marcellinus by his mother and sister.

In my doctoral research, which I plan to start in Autumn 2019, I aim to study the process of identity formation in Late Antiquity in relation to 'authority', i.e. bureaucratic, imperial and religious decision-makers in the western empire. Being able to analyse physical findings in addition to texts will be a great advantage in my skill set and will surely benefit my research."

This important venture to help to inspire the next generation of epigraphers would

be impossible without the help, support and generosity of many individuals and institutions, and it is a great pleasure to recognise their invaluable contribution here. Roger Tomlin, Charles Crowther and Abigail Graham kindly agreed to act as course instructors, while Henning Schulze, Senior Lecturer in Conservation at the University of Lincoln, provided expert instruction in photography using digital equipment.

Planning for this year's Workshop began three years ago when I approached Dr Anja Ulbrich, who is the A.G. Leventis Curator of Cypriot Antiquities, about the use of the Education Centre of the Ashmolean as a possible venue. Anja guided the Workshop

through every stage on the museum side of things, from fixing the date in the diary, to negotiating on our behalf to use the Education Centre, to organising the various labours to move stones, to making sure that all ran smoothly across the three days of the Workshop itself. From the Ashmolean we must also thank Jo Rice,

Head of the Learning Department, and Timothy Crowley and Kevin Jacques.

We would also like to express our gratitude to the CSAD for supplying the institutional framework, and to Chloe Colchester for administrative support as well as keeping our participants fed and watered in the tea and lunch breaks. For generous financial support we are indebted to the CSAD, the Craven Committee and AIEGL, and for help with bed and board in Oxford we must acknowledge Trinity College, Corpus Christi College, Lincoln College and New College. The colleges of Trinity and Corpus Christi accommodated two convivial dinners.

We plan to run the next Practical Epigraphy Workshop in Corbridge between Sunday 21 and Wednesday 24 March 2021.



Oxford Epigraphy Workshop Michaelmas Term 2019

Monday 14 October:

Peter Thonemann (Oxford), "A new Lydian history from Sardis"

Monday 21 October:

no meeting

Monday 28 October:

Alexander Weiß (Frankfurt), "Ramsay, Rostovtzeff and a never published second edition of the *Res gestae divi Augusti* from Pisidian Antioch"

Monday 4 November:

Nikolaos Papazarkadas (Oxford), "An unpublished account from Lebadeia concerning the festival of the Basileia"

Monday 11 November:

Matt Simonton (Arizona State and ASCSA), "Stasis and reconciliation in Early Hellenistic Telos: Recent epigraphic evidence"

Monday 18 November:

no meeting

Monday 25 November:

Georgy Kantor & Charles Crowther (Oxford), "A pierre errante from Erythrai: I.Erythrai 120-121 rediscovered"

Monday 2 December:

Nicholas Purcell (Oxford), "When is a door not a door? Revisiting the *Lex parieti faciundo* of Puteoli, 105 B.C. (CIL I² 698 [CIL X 1781; ILS 5317; ILLRP 518])"

Charles Crowther and Andrew Meadows

Visitors to CSAD

The Centre is able to provide a base for a limited number of visiting scholars working in fields related to its activities. Enquiries concerning admission as Visiting Scholars (established researchers) or as Postgraduate Research Associate should be addressed to the Centre's Director, Prof. Andrew Meadows. Association with the Centre carries with it membership of the University's Stelios Ioannou School for Research in Classical and Byzantine Studies. Further information concerning application procedures and other formalities can be obtained from the Centre's Administrator and Research Support Officer, Dr Chloe Colchester (chloe.colchester@classics.ox.ac.uk).

Circulation and Contributions

This is the twenty-fourth issue of the Centre's Newsletter. The Newsletter is also available online in HTML and pdf formats (www.csad.ox.ac.uk/CSAD/Newsletters).

We invite contributions to the Newsletter of news, reports and discussion items from and of interest to scholars working in the fields of the Centre's activities — epigraphy, papyrology and numismatics understood in the widest sense.

Contributions, together with other enquiries and requests to be placed on the Centre's mailing list, should be addressed to the Centre's Administrator, Dr Chloe Colchester, at the address below.

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Cover image: Silver denarius of Augustus, mint of Rome, 16 BC (<http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.38334>).

Photo courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

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